

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 AF-10 EB-11 PCH-02 CIAE-00 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 IO-14 SCEM-02 OMB-01

SS-20 NSC-10 DODE-00 /170 R

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TO USMISSION NATO

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USDOCOSOUTH

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

AMEMBASSY ATHENS BY POUCH

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: DRAFT REPORT TO NATO MINISTERS ON MEDITERRANEAN  
SITUATION

REF: USNATO 5446

1. SINCE DEPARTMENT HAS NOT RECEIVED COMPLETE COPIES OF IS DRAFT REPORT ON MEDITERRANEAN SITUATION (DPA(73)279 AND DPA (73) 234) FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE BASED ONLY ON SECTIONS OF REPOR TRANSMITTED REFTEL. WE MAY COMMENT FURTHER WHEN FULL REPORT RECEIVED.

2. IN PARA 50, FIRST SENTENCE, SHOULD CHANGE "MOVEMENT" TO "EFFORTS." IN LAST SENTENCE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES REFERENCE TO "BARGAINING COUNTERS" IS HINDSIGHT AND SUGGESTS THAT LAST PART OF LAST SENTENCE READ: "AND, AT THE SAME TIME, TO SUSTAIN THAT CONFLICT FOR A LONG ENOUGH PERIOD SO THAT THE GREAT POWERS WOULD BE INVOLVED."

3. IN PARA 51 THE LAST PART OF FIRST SENTENCE SHOULD READ: "THAT IT WAS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT WAS CALLED INTO QUESTION." FOURTH SENTENCE SHOULD READ: "ALTHOUGH CONSERVATIVE AND PRO-WESTERN, ONCE HOSTILITIES ENSUED, FAISAL FELT COMMITTED TO USE THE WEAPONS AT HIS DISPOSAL, INCLUDING OIL, EVEN THOUGH THIS POSITION ENTAILED THE RISK OF DAMAGING HIS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN AND INVOLVED THE POSSIBILITY OF FACILITATING THE SPREAD OF SOVIET INFLUENCE." SENTENCE FIVE ON QADHAFI SHOULD BE ELIMINATED ENTIRELY (LIBYA DID PARTICIPATE TO A LIMITED EXTENT IN THE CONFLICT). IN REST OF PARA 51 ORDER OF SENTENCES FIVE AND SIX SHOULD BE REVERSED.

4. FOLLOWING IS OFFERED AS PARA 51A ON NORTH AFRICA:  
"THE NORTH AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAVE DEMONSTRATED UNUSUAL UNITY OF PURPOSE IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONFLICT. MOROCCO SENT TROOPS TO SYRIA BEFORE HOSTILITIES STARTED, AND THEY WERE IN ACTION. ALGERIA, TUNISIA, AND LIBYA SENT TROOPS AND/OR EQUIPMENT, AND LIBYA AND PROBABLY ALGERIA CONTRIBUTED."  
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ED CONSIDERABLE FINANCIAL SUPPORT. ALL THE NORTH AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN ACTIVE DIPLOMATICALLY IN THE WAKE OF THE FIGHTING, ESPECIALLY BOUMEDIENE. BOTH QADHAFI AND BOUMEDIENE HAVE TRAVELED IN EASTERN ARAB COUNTRIES. THE NORTH AFRICANS LOBBIED VIGOROUSLY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA FOR BREAKING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL; BOUMEDIENE HAS BEEN TRYING TO ORGANIZE DIPLOMATIC MEETINGS OF BOTH ARAB AND AFRICAN LEADERS."

5. PARA 52 SHOULD READ: "DESPITE THE EXPULSION OF SOVIET FORCES FROM EGYPT IN JULY 1972, IT NOW SEEMS CLEAR THAT, UNDER SOVIET AUSPICES, THE EGYPTIAN MILITARY MACHINE HAD BEEN IN FACT COMPLETELY OVERHAULED, AND THAT THIS RESULTED IN STIFFER DISCIPLINE AND BETTER LEADERSHIP IN THE ARAB

ARMIES. TWO EVENTS STRONGLY SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIET UNION KNEW WHAT WAS ABOUT TO HAPPEN." REST OF PARA 52 ACCEPTABLE AS DRAFTED.

6. PARA 53, FIRST SENTENCE, ELIMINATE WORD "ABSOLUTE." SECOND SENTENCE SHOULD READ, "AS THINGS TURNED OUT, THE SOVIETS HAVE TAKEN STEPS DESIGNED TO REFURBISH THEIR IMAGE IN THE ARAB WORLD, PARTICULARLY IN EGYPT AND SYRIA.

7. PARA 58 SHOULD READ AS FOLLOWS: "RELATIONS BETWEEN ARAB OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES AND WESTERN CONSUMING COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO NEW PRESSURES ARISING OUT OF THE ARAB IMPOSITION OF OIL EMBARGOES AND PRODUCTION CUTBACKS. THE INCREASING GAP BETWEEN OIL SUPPLY AND DEMAND HAS SEVERELY LIMITED THE OIL COMPANIES ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE, ON VIRTUALLY ANY ISSUE, WITH PRODUCER STATES. THUS THE TRADITIONAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH OIL IS SUPPLIED IS BEING ERODED."

8. PARA 59 SHOULD BE SUBSTITUTED ENTIRELY AS FOLLOWS: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS SHOW CLEARLY NOT ONLY THE DEPTH OF THE SOVIET COMMITMENT TO PRESERVING AND, IF POSSIBLE, EXTENDING ITS INFLUENCE IN THE AREA, BUT ALSO THE IMPORTANCE IT ATTACHES TO ESTABLISHING ITS CREDIBILITY AS A SUPERPOWER, ABLE TO DEFEND ITS DECLARED CLIENTS. REGARDLESS OF THE INHERENT WEAKNESSES IN ITS RELATIONSHIPS WITH MOST ARAB COUNTRIES, THE USSR'S RESPONSE  
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TO THE CRISIS DEMONSTRATED ITS DETERMINATION TO INSIST ON BEING ACCORDED A ROLE AS ARBITER OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST BY VIRTUE OF ITS GREAT POWER INTERESTS.

9. PARA 60 SHOULD READ: "IT HAS NOW BECOME A COMPELLING NECESSITY TO REACH A JUST, LASTING AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION. THE DIPLOMATIC BASIS FOR SUCH A SOLUTION MAY HAVE IMPROVED." REST OF PARA ACCEPTABLE AS WRITTEN.

10. DEPARTMENT SUGGESTS THAT STATEMENT ON ARAB TERRORISM BE INSERTED AS PARA 60A: "ARAB TERRORIST GROUPS WERE RELATIVELY QUIET DURING THE HOSTILITIES - BOTH IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD INCLUDING WESTERN EUROPE. PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP IS UNCERTAIN HOW TO PROCEED UNTIL THE SHAPE OF A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT APPEARS. SHOULD PALESTINIAN ASPIRATIONS BE IGNORED OR INCOMPLETELY SATISFIED, THERE IS A GOOD POSSIBILITY OF A RESURGENCE OF TERRORISM RISING OUT OF FRUSTRATION. RECENT EVENTS IN AUSTRIA, WEST GERMANY (BERLIN) AND ROME INDICATE THAT WESTERN EUROPE COULD BE THE SCENE OF FUTURE TERRORIST OPERATIONS."

11. PARA 61 SHOULD READ: "THE SOVIET PRESENCE IN

THE AREA REMAINED UNCHANGED. THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO A NUMBER OF ARAB STATES CONTINUED. ARAB MILITARY CAPABILITIES CONTINUED TO IMPROVE."

12. PARA 64 SHOULD BE SUBSTITUTED IN ITS ENTIRETY WITH FOLLOWING LANGUAGE: "THE VARIOUS STEPS TAKEN BY ARAB OIL PRODUCERS WITH REGARD TO IMPOSING EMBARGOES ON OIL EXPORTS AND LIMITING PRODUCTION HAVE REDUCED EXPORT AVAILABILITIES BY OVER 5 MILLION BD OR 250 MILLION TONS PER ANNUM. WHEN BOTH DIRECT AND INDIRECT SHIPMENTS OF ARAB OIL ARE CONSIDERED, THE EFFECT OF THE EMBARGOES AND CUTBACKS IS SIGNIFICANT FOR THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE. FURTHER CUTBACKS WILL ONLY SERVE TO AGGRAVATE THE SUPPLY SITUATION IN WESTERN EUROPE. IF THE SUPPLY SHORTFALLS SHOULD CONTINUE THROUGH THE WINTER THE EFFECT ON THE WESTERN EUROPE ECONOMY WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY SEVERE AS DEMAND INCREASES SHARPLY DURING THE WINTER  
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MONTHS. MOST WESTERN CONSUMER NATIONS ARE TAKING STEPS TO REDUCE CONSUMPTION. DISLOCATIONS IN THE LEVEL OF ACTIVITY IN SOME SECTORS OF THE WESTERN ECONOMIES ARE POSSIBLE.

13. PARA 66 LAST SENTENCE: "IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, THE ALLIED COUNTRIES SHOULD CONSULT TOGETHER ON THE IMPACT OF THE ARAB DECISIONS ON THEIR OIL SUPPLIES."

14. RE PARA 1 ON IMS ASSESSMENT ON SOVMEDRON: FIRST SENTENCE ACCEPTABLE AS DRAFTED. REST OF PARA 1 SHOULD BE ELIMINATED (COMMENT: Y  
U SHOULD REJECT THE IMPLICATIONS IN THE REST OF THE PARAGRAPH WITHOUT BEING DRAWN INTO A GENERAL DEBATE ON CONSULTATION ISSUE. INFORMATION ON THE SIXTH FLEET IS GIVEN IN THE DPQ. WE SEE NO NEED TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON TACTICAL FLEET MOVEMENTS.)

15. YOU SHOULD RESERVE ON PARA 57, FOR WHICH DEPARTMENT MAY SUGGEST SUBSTITUTE LANGUAGE. KISSINGER

NOTE BY OC/T: POUCHED ATHENS.

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MOSCOW  
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USDOCOSOUTH  
USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR  
ATHENS BY POUCH

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